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between United States and Canada, it can be maintained along other and unfortified boundaries. Since all the nations now in the struggle deny starting the conflict and insist that they are "engaged in a war for permanent peace," we are disposed to take them at their word. The United States is not at war, but through forbearance and magnanimity is leading the minds of men toward that power of righteousness which is far more potent than force or murder.

Then, surely old fallacies are being cleared away at last. It is not true that "all life is in conflict." It is not true that "international law is a failure." The indispensable condition of life within a species is peace; and all of the nations of the world, neutrals and belligerents, are talking incessantly and as never before in terms of international law. Indeed, there is a rapidly growing re-emphasis upon the necessity for an international organization higher than a mere Concert of Europe or Triple Alliance and Entente. Thus we are pleased to point to some of the reasons for our encouragement.

EDITORIAL NOTES

**Henry Ford,
Pacifist.**

Pacifists are looked upon so often as impractical persons that we especially welcome to the ranks of peace workers the astute and successful manufacturer of automobiles, Mr. Henry Ford. No one has ever accused this gentleman of being a faddist or mere idealist. By all pragmatic standards certainly he is practical and successful.

It is announced that Mr. Ford purposes to offer to the world his vast wealth, gained in the pursuits of peace, to the cause of international justice. With it he purposes to oppose the spirit of militarism and to do everything in his power to prevent murderous, wasteful war. That he feels deeply upon the subject is evident in his words:

"I would teach the child at its mother's knee what a horrible, wasteful, and unavailing thing war is. In the home and in the schools of the world I would see the child taught to feel the uselessness of war; that war is a thing unnecessary; that preparation for war can end only in war."

Mr. Ford believes that war does not threaten the United States; that war will not reach us; that our inheritance is the fullness of peace and not the burden of militarism. He says further:

"The United States has spent more than a billion dollars on a navy and army that was to cope with an invasion that never occurred and never will occur. And yet the very 'war experts' who are responsible for that burdensome army and navy admit that our army and navy never would have been able to meet with any hope of success those of other so-called Powers. And that with all their prophecies of war fallen flat they cry for still

greater waste. The people of the United States have been compelled to throw a billion dollars into a junk pile, and these men would have another billion go the same way. If one-tenth of what has been spent on preparation for war had been spent on the prevention of war the world would always have been at peace. * * * It has always been this competitive arming, this deadly invitation to a test of strength that has spelled death and sorrow to millions. We have had none of it. We should have none of it. * * * If Germany, as many of her opponents claim, wanted colonies, she could have secured a very extensive 'place in the sun' by direct purchase—a business transaction—for a fraction of the terrific cost she is now paying for warfare. * * * I know of nothing to which I would rather give my life, nothing that would give me a more certain feeling that I was doing a man's work, nothing that would make me feel more content in the knowledge that I had done a great duty that had been placed before me than to use that which I have to help bring to an end six thousand years of this unjustified hatred, ruthless waste, destruction, and murder. I feel that this cry for the training of men to kill other men and for the placing of an army and navy as a burden on the backs of the people is a false conception of patriotism and treason to the life of a people. * * * Military men would gamble with human lives and the peace and plead for 'national honor' when they mean 'personal glorification and blood money.' I shall expect the sneers and condemnation of those whose business is war and of those who profit by war. But I can weigh against these the feeling for peace and against war and the spirit that brings war, which I know burns in the hearts of the masses the world over, and in this I will feel that I am right."

**A Scientific
Pacifism.**

The increased interest in the peace movement is encouraging. The situation is not devoid, however, of certain dangers. Every good cause is constantly menaced by mere emotionalism, group interests, prejudice, and by utterances the outgrowth of mental processes little higher than instincts. Dilettantism has ruined many worthy movements, it endangers now the peace movement.

As a writer in the *New Republic* of September 18 says: "Opinion never had a better chance of being based on substrata of quite meaningless facts." As implied by this writer we need to look, therefore, to our opinions. Since our aim as pacifists is to convince men and women that they may go forth and do something for a better world organization, we need be reminded, as by the writer just quoted, that legitimate opinions, like the hypotheses of the physicist, are "scientific hypotheses to be tested and revised as experience widens"; that they are "provisional convictions until new light alters them";

that they are "interpretations with a definite slant and bias, but pressing hotly for proof." Right opinions are flexible and gracious, they are directly opposed to dogma for the reason that they invite criticism. They are scientifically disinterested in their own convictions and aim to disentangle from the mesh of human views the relevant and important. Opinions of this kind contribute to advancement. They promote a scientific pacifism when applied to international relations.

Then there are such things as facts, real and tangible contents of experience, things that actually appear and which are knowable. This is true of the physical world, it is true of the religious and political world. We pacifists need to observe more acutely and to systematize our observations into a new and higher knowledge. We need to exercise a rational common sense, to know that our facts are facts, and to unite them into an intelligent system for the high purposes we have set before us.

The true test for all science is: that there should be an absence of mere emotion, mere prejudice, mere authority; that the facts be self-consistent; that all pertinent facts be included; that the irrelevant and superfluous be rejected; and, finally, that there be a perfect agreement with data already established. Why may we not measure our pacifism by such a test?

Never in the history of the world has there been need for a greater accuracy of thinking than now. Is it not therefore of some importance that we measure our work more frequently by the standards set for other sciences, that we shape our opinions and establish our facts in the spirit of a scientific pacifism?

The Economic Causes of War.

There is a wide agreement, especially among the scholars, that the chief causes of war may be traced to commercial and economic conditions. The Society to Eliminate the Economic Causes of War, now nearly a year old, takes the ground that some plan must be found by which international trade routes shall be neutralized in order that hostile legislation by nation against nation may cease, and that economic opportunities may be more nearly equalized. It is urged further that the control of the seas should be in the hands of no single nation or limited group of nations; that the seas, rather, must be in the control of all the nations in their collective capacity. Of course, we agree to all this.

Then, too, we agree that existing tariff and immigration laws are important areas for study and modification. National rights are undoubtedly infringed by repeated disregard of the principle of reciprocity. The lack of international organization, so important for the protection of property rights, especially those of citizens engaged in business in a foreign country, is, in the light of the present war, most pathetic. National control of

census bureaus, mails, cables, and other means of international information and communication should be transferred to some form of international control.

So once again we are brought back to our need of an international legislature and a judicial body, able to cope with these problems to the end that international economic frictions may cease.

While we cannot follow Mr. Babson, Mr. Sibley, and the rest in urging the importance of an "inter-national trade flag" or of an "economic and military force," we do agree with them that our diplomatic and consular service need greater assistance from Congress; that the surest way to prevent war is to remove the temptation to war, and that there must be a more efficient means of determining policies and bringing about changes than by resort to war. We hope that the Society to Eliminate the Economic Causes of War and all similar agencies may accomplish practical results in the important field before them.

National Association for Constitutional Government.

Upon a suggestion contained in an article by the Hon. David Jayne Hill, former Ambassador to Germany, appearing in the *North American Review*, entitled "The Crisis in Constitutionalism," there has been formed the National Association for Constitutional Government. The founders of the association purpose to make an earnest endeavor to counteract the effect of various forces in our country tending, as they believe, to undermine and destroy our constitutional form of government and the guaranties of life, liberty, and property which our Constitution affords.

The aims of this association are declared to be:

1. To revive and extend a knowledge of the distinctive features of constitutional government as conceived by the founders of this Republic, and to maintain respect for the Constitution;
2. To insist upon deliberate discussion of proposed changes in our Federal Constitution before their adoption, the existing method of amending it being deemed wise and adequate; and
3. To preserve the idea of a fundamental law, and prevent the substitution for it of a mere statutory code subject to frequent change.

It is proposed that these aims be carried out by appropriate means of action, such as the formation of local centers for the study of the Constitution, the publication and circulation of literature upon the subject, and the assembling of meetings for the discussion of such questions as may from time to time seem to require consideration.

The association is acting under a preliminary organization or general committee, of which Dr. Hill is the chairman; John Joy Edson, president of The Washington Loan and Trust Company, treasurer, and Charles Ray Dean, attorney, of Washington, secretary.

Many of our thoughtful citizens who are profoundly interested in the perpetuation of our form of government are becoming members of the association. Among these just a few may be mentioned: Former President William Howard Taft, Senator Elihu Root, the Hon. Alton B. Parker, the Hon. John W. Foster, Mr. George Harvey, of the *North American Review*; Bishop D. H. Greer, Gen. Horace Porter, and the Hon. Horace White.

It is planned to hold a meeting this fall for the per-

manent organization of the association, and to hold public meetings at which relevant subjects of interest will be discussed by prominent citizens of our country.

Further accessions to the membership and active cooperation on the part of patriotic citizens will be welcomed. Fuller information can be obtained by addressing any of the above-named officers at the headquarters of the association, 806 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC OPINION VERSUS FORCE*

By JAMES BROWN SCOTT

THE great campaign in which we are engaged is nothing more nor less than a campaign of education in which physical force, as such, finds no place. There is a factor other than physical force that controls mankind. It controls mankind within those small groups which we call communities; it controls mankind in those larger groups which we call nations; it will ultimately control mankind in the largest group of men and women, which we call the world. This factor is public opinion, and if the past belongs to physical force, or largely to such force, the future will belong to public opinion, or largely to public opinion. I may not cite examples of the use and abuse of force, which in the past have been too often synonymous. Suffice it to say that the world is full of the tragedies of force; that these tragedies have been written in blood, and that they have left little or nothing behind them but memories of desolation. The great empires of the East and of the ancient world have passed away. They have left little or nothing, unless it be a warning to profit by their example. Greece has gone, likewise Rome, and they, as well as their predecessors, proclaim that that which is built by force is sustained by force, and that when force is removed the fabric of empire falls, because it has nothing to sustain it. In the *Vanity of Human Wishes* Doctor Johnson sums it all up in a couple of lines, applicable alike to the abuse of force, whether by man or by nation:

He left the name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral or adorn a tale.

We should strive to use this great element; indeed, this greatest element—I mean, of course, public opinion—to bring about a change in the standard of conduct and to introduce into the things of the world the things of the spirit. Democracy has come into its own in our country and is coming into its own everywhere, but its voice must be the voice of reason, and the public opinion for which it stands and which it creates must be an intelligent and an enlightened public opinion, fitted to mold the future because based upon the experience of the past. It shall be, if you please, the public opinion which shall grow to be the public opinion of the State and of the nation. But it is not enough that it be the

public opinion of one nation, however enlightened and however aggressive. For the world's work it must be the public opinion of the nations composing the world; it must be an international opinion.

The founders of this Republic recognized the power of public opinion, to which they confidently appealed to justify the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitled them. The power of public opinion has outstripped even the power of the nation which it created and justified, and it is peculiarly gratifying to us Americans to find in "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" the greatest, the controlling, and the most beneficent of international as well as of national factors. The physical force of the Old World must needs yield to the public opinion of the New.

A great deal has been said, both here and elsewhere, about the war. We think about it by day and we lie awake by night; or, if we fall asleep, many of us dream about it and its awful consequences. There is, however, a lesson of a consoling kind which we can draw from it, and that lesson, Mr. President, I should like to lay before you. The nations at war recognize that a new power has come into the world; that this power is something above every ruler, whether he be a tsar, whether he be an emperor, whether he be a king, or whether he be a president, and that this power is something beyond him, something outside of him and his country, something to which he reaches out, something of which he must possess himself in order that his quarrel may be thrice just. This power, so eagerly sought and so necessary to him, is, I beg to assure you, the public opinion of the world; not merely the public opinion of his subjects or of his fellow-citizens, but the public opinion, the enlightened public opinion, of the nations which, fortunately for themselves, have no part in this contest. Germany has published a white book, Great Britain a white paper, Russia an orange book, Belgium a gray book, France a yellow book, Austria-Hungary a red book, and Servia a blue book. Those official documents are not issued for home consumption, as their respective countries believe, wrongly or rightly, or rightly or wrongly, as you prefer, that their cause is just—I do not myself attempt to judge:

* From an address delivered at a luncheon of the Adversity Club of Cleveland, May 13, 1915.

"Slav, Teuton, Kelt, I count them all
My friends and brother souls"—